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Alternatives to imprisonment in Scotland

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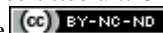
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Alternatives to imprisonment in Scotland: policy, strategy and practice

Mesures alternatives à l'incarcération en Écosse : politique, stratégie et pratique

Ruth Freeman*, Glyn Lloyd*

Riassunto

La gamma delle iniziative introdotta dal governo scozzese e dalle agenzie partner, nazionali e locali, ha lo scopo di ridurre il ricorso alla detenzione di breve durata, di promuovere una risposta più efficace nei confronti delle cause del crimine e di ridurre la recidiva. Queste iniziative indicano che il governo ed i suoi partner riconoscono che, anche se di cruciale importanza, le misure in comunità da sole saranno inefficaci. Sono state previste anche altre risposte che focalizzano chiaramente l'attenzione sulla prevenzione, sulla riduzione delle disuguaglianze e sulle problematiche connesse all'infanzia e associate alla recidiva in età adulta. Viene prestata particolare attenzione all'importanza della tipologia di condanne disponibili e alle agenzie che lavorano in modo collaborativo e responsabile nella comunità, al fine di concentrarsi su obiettivi condivisi. Resta da verificare se, dopo anni di continuo aumento della popolazione carceraria, queste diverse misure possono dimostrare di avere un impatto sia sul ricorso alla custodia in carcere sia sui tassi di recidiva. Tuttavia, in conformità con la ricerca, in merito a ciò che funziona per ridurre il crimine e a quello che potrebbe ridurre il ricorso alla carcerazione, sembra che l'approccio si mostri complessivamente promettente.

Résumé

Les différentes initiatives mises en œuvre par le gouvernement écossais et par les agences partenaires nationales et locales ont pour but de réduire le recours à l'emprisonnement de courte durée, de promouvoir une réponse plus efficace aux causes de la criminalité et de réduire la récidive. Elles indiquent que le gouvernement et les partenaires reconnaissent que, bien qu'elles soient extrêmement importantes, les solutions communautaires alternatives à l'incarcération seules s'avéreront inefficaces. D'autres réponses, clairement axées sur la prévention, sur la réduction des inégalités et sur des questions liées à l'enfance et associées à la récidive à l'âge adulte, sont mises en place. Il reste à voir si, après des années d'augmentation constante de la population carcérale, ces différentes mesures pourront produire un effet clairement positif aussi bien sur la mise en détention que sur les taux de récidive. Toutefois, conformément à la recherche sur les moyens efficaces de prévenir le crime et sur les mesures pour réduire le recours à la prison, il semblerait que cette approche s'annonce généralement prometteuse.

Abstract

The range of initiatives being introduced by the Scottish Government and national and local partner agencies are intended to reduce the use of short-term imprisonment, promote a more effective response to the causes of crime and reduce re-offending. They indicate that the Government and partners recognize that, although crucially important, alternative community based options alone will be ineffective. Other responses, involving a clear focus on prevention and reducing the inequalities and related issues in childhood associated with re-offending into adulthood, are also being introduced. There is a clear emphasis on the importance of available sentencing powers and of agencies working collaboratively and accountably in the community to focus on shared aims. Whether, after years of steadily increasing prison populations, these various measures can demonstrably impact on both the use of custody and re-offending rates remains to be seen. However, in accordance with the research on what works to reduce crime and what might reduce the use of custody, it would appear that the approach collectively shows promise.

Key Words: alternatives to imprisonment; Scotland; crime prevention; community sentences; diversion.

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1. Introduction.

In Scotland there are currently 7,671 people in custody, the majority of whom are adult male prisoners (5553) (1). In 2014-15, only 7% of all sentences were of two years or more with 26% of sentences between 3 and 6 months and 29% less than 3 months (2). More recent statistics suggest that about two-thirds of all sentences are of 6 months or less (3) in Scotland.

Increases in the prison population in Scotland and in other jurisdictions have occurred despite a range of alternatives to custody being introduced over the last 20 years, a recent presumption against very short-term prison sentences and reduced crime levels (4), which are not shown to be associated with the growing use of imprisonment. Commentators have therefore noted that reducing the prison population is dependent on a range of factors, including the prevention of crime and certain types of more serious crime; a culture of political, community and media support for the use of alternatives; available sentencing powers; and the consequences of non-compliance with community based penalties.

Since the available evidence from Scotland has shown that short sentences of less or equal to 6 months are associated with reoffending and reconviction, and that community sentences result in reduced recidivism, the Scottish Government called for a change in thinking. They suggested that longer periods of imprisonment would be necessary for those who committed serious offences while alternatives to imprisonment, such as community payback orders, should be considered for specific and less severe crimes. The reasoning behind this call was:

[i] to address the causes of the causes of offending behaviour in conjunction with community justice

services; [ii] the recognition that short sentences do not provide an opportunity or environment to address offending behaviours; [iii] that short sentences disturbed social, family and community relations; [iv] that short prison sentences are costly and (v) to reduce re-offending rates. Therefore, when a set of key principles (Table 1) were carefully implemented, evidence showed that community sentences were more likely to be successful.

In the Criminal Justice and Licensing Act (Scotland) 2010 (5), the Scottish Government introduced Community Payback Orders as a single community sentence to which up to 9 conditions can be attached, alongside a presumption against short-term prison sentences of 3 months or less. In Section 12 (1) of the Act, the Government also made provision for a Scottish Sentencing Council, an independent advisory body, to be set up to prepare sentencing guidelines for the Scottish Courts, publish guidelines judgements issued by the Courts and publish information about sentences imposed by the Courts. The Council was established in October 2015 and in its first Business Plan for 2015-18 (6), outlines how it will set out the 'fundamental principles and purposes of sentencing', including sentencing young people. The first suite of guidelines are due to be published by the autumn of 2018. There is a clear emphasis on achieving greater consistency and transparency in sentencing, whilst preserving judicial discretion.

Alongside this, as part of a wider programme of reform, in its Strategy for Justice in Scotland of 2012 (7) the Scottish Government also called for a 'whole system approach to criminal justice reform [to include] an increased emphasis on the use of alternatives to custody; the introduction of new community disposals including Community Payback Orders; increased emphasis on providing services

and support to help individuals address offending behaviour (both in custody and in the community); further development of electronic monitoring; the establishment of an improvement project focused

on further reducing the use of remand and short sentences; and a continuing shift in the role of the Scottish Prison Service (SPS)' (8).

Key Principles	Explanation
Risk	Interventions should be informed by the nature and extent of the risk of re-offending. Where risks are higher and/or involve potential harm to self or others, supervision and/or monitoring should be increased accordingly.
Need	Interventions should target relevant criminogenic needs. In particular, attitudes towards crime, problem solving skills, self-efficacy, pro-social networks and substance misuse, alongside assistance to overcome practical barriers.
Responsivity	Interventions should be suitably individualised to reflect different levels of intelligence, communication styles and emotionality. They therefore require staff with advanced levels of interpersonal sensitivity and awareness.
Relationship	Interventions must involve a respectful, participatory and flexible working relationship between the supervisor and supervisee. The supervisor must be empathic in that they are seen to understand the needs of the supervisee.
Community	Interventions are more likely to be effective when delivered in accordance with each of the principles in the community, where supervisees can retain and/or promote important social ties and apply, reflect on and develop skills in the real world.
Integrity	Interventions must be delivered within these parameters and must involve a clear, transparent and bespoke supervision plan. The plan must include small, measurable, achievable, realistic and time-limited (SMART) goals.

Table 1: *Key principles involved in successful community sentences (9)*

In March 2016, Lord Carloway, Lord Justice General for Scotland, in his paper entitled, 'Imprisonment in Scotland: towards a penological post-modernism', revisited and questioned the role of 'conventional notions of punishment' and the need to identify and acknowledge the fundamental determinants of criminal behaviour². Relating the high prevalence of criminality to social and economic causes, he again emphasised the necessity to keep communities safe from serious criminal acts, while at the same time acknowledging that current imprisonment regimes had done little to reduce recidivism or promote rehabilitation. Of

particular importance, in Carloway's thesis, was the tendency for short prison sentences where other forms of punishment, such as community sentences would be more appropriate. Carloway called once more for, 'Scotland...[to] move beyond its reliance on imprisonment as a means of punishment in favour of a default system of paying back to the community when dealing with less serious offenders'. Carloway's sentiments reflected the 2008 Scottish Prisons Commission (10) and the later Scottish Government's Strategy for Justice of 2012³. These policy documents stated that there was a need to: 'change the structure of the criminal

justice system; work to address the underlying causes of criminal behaviour; reforms to the laws around disclosure of criminal history; a presumption against short term sentences; and increased use of criminal sentences'⁽²⁾.

By 2015, the Scottish Government, in their report entitled, 'What Works to Reduce Reoffending: A Summary of the Evidence' ⁽¹¹⁾, revisited the role of social and economic factors in criminal behaviour, re-emphasised the outcomes of short sentences and stated the need for different and tailored interventions for men and women to reduce recidivism. Figure 1 taken from the 'What Works to Reduce Reoffending: A Summary of the Evidence'⁽¹¹⁾ document illustrates the importance of social and economic factors and the requirement to address these factors using alternatives to imprisonment. However, given the complexity, unpredictability and changeability of behaviour change, caution must be voiced since there is always uncertainty concerning the effectiveness of an intervention and its ability to reduce re-offending. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that some interventions are more effective more of the time and can increase the chances for behaviour change in people. Table 2 details the evidence used within

Scotland with regard to the choice and type of intervention^{(11) (12)}.

The Scottish Government and the Scottish Prison Service in their policy documents address the social and economic factors associated with criminal behaviour to reduce reoffending. These social and economic factors have been described by Marmot ⁽¹³⁾ as the social determinants or the 'causes of the causes' of inequality and health disparities. Therefore, to address these fundamental causes ⁽¹⁴⁾ of inequality by providing education and employment opportunities will affect the prevalence of substance misuse, mental health issues and impact indirectly upon reoffending. Using such evidence-based approaches to provide alternatives to imprisonment that address the underlying causes of offending (i.e. promoting secure attachments between child and parent; providing children, adolescents and adults with education and employment opportunities and creating supportive and sustainable environments^{(2) (8) (11) (13)}) will not only tackle crime but will also promote the welfare of the child, family and their communities as well as ensuring safer and sustainable social spaces, civic and active participation and the improvement of public health.



Figure 1: *Addressing the social and economic causes of criminal behaviours⁽¹¹⁾*

Reproduced from Scottish Government, What Works to Reduce Reoffending: A Summary of the

Evidence: 2015. Available at: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/05/2480>.

Intervention	Effective	Less effective
Education, training and employment	Remaining in education is especially important for young people, with a high correlation between school exclusions, offending and re-offending. Employment can generate income and social ties, which can promote the development of a pro-social identity and encourage desistance	Education can help people obtain qualifications to become more employable and is therefore helpful but it is unlikely to reduce re-offending on its own. Some people are already in employment but offend regardless. Other risk factors, such as alcohol use or the perceived benefits of crime, may be more relevant
Cognitive behavioural work	Can help to change negative thinking patterns and associated behaviours, especially when delivered with practical support	Some people, such as people who are currently resistant to change or have a learning disability, may require a more directive or instructional approach
Motivational or strengths based work	Interventions which match levels of motivation are more likely to reduce re-offending. Building strengths and goals might help promote motivation	More research is required into the effects of a strengths based approach, including the extent to which it helps address underlying risk factors and barriers to change
Substance misuse treatment	Drug treatment programmes have a generally positive impact on reducing re-offending and offer good value for money	It should also be noted that alcohol related crime often involves violence, with other underlying features
Pro-social friends/peer group/family	Strong social bonds can help trigger or maintain desistance, whilst failed or anti-social relationships can trigger re-offending or make people feel trapped	Some people may have only experienced anti-social peers, unsupportive families and/or dysfunctional personal relationships. Alternative opportunities may be limited
Mental health treatment/support	Offenders frequently have mental health problems, which may act as barriers to the development of social skills or triggers for	Depression, phobias and anxiety have not been found to be directly related to re-offending. Typically, this is more associated with personality disorders

	substance misuse	
Controls, such as Electronic Monitoring	Can assist with alternatives to custody as the front-door stage by providing monitoring and/or restricting access to specified places and/or people. Can assist with the early release of prisoners, who are not more likely to re-offend than others not released early but who meet the same criteria.	Controls and sanctions in general can help but are likely to be more effective when they are combined with individualised support and enforced consistently. Controls and sanctions in general can help but are likely to be more effective when they are combined with individualised support and enforced consistently
Unpaid work in the community	Tasks which contribute towards others wellbeing and involve contact with the beneficiaries of the work are more likely to be effective	Basic menial work, or work which does not reflect the person's strengths and interests, will involve community reparation but is likely to promote behavioural change

Table 2: *Summary of research evidence on interventions*^{(11) (12)}

In recognition of the holistic, multi-faceted and often complex causes of re-offending, the Scottish Government has also outlined a new approach under the Community Justice (Scotland) Act 2016 (15). The Act places a legal duty on a set of statutory community justice partners to work together in producing a local Community Justice Outcomes Improvement Plan. These plans will correspond to a national performance framework, which focuses on the impact of changes on the system, offenders, victims and communities. Within this, they will also be required to take account of local needs and priorities. Partners will be required to produce an annual report on the progress they have collectively made towards achieving outcomes. Significantly, there is an emphasis on the inter-dependency of different organisations to achieve shared aims, including in respect of the key issues of education, training and employment; health and wellbeing; substance misuse; housing; financial inclusion; and social skills.

Similarly, a range of other strategic developments introduced by the Scottish Government, including Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC) (16), the National Improvement Framework and specific approaches towards particular groups such as

Looked After Children, are also promoting a more preventative approach towards the problems associated with crime as 'causes of the cause'. The Government has expressly indicated its determination to reduce inequality and ensure that the needs of more vulnerable groups are met before they escalate and become more problematic both for individuals, families and society as a whole. As such, there are clear commonalities between the approach towards community justice and inter-related issues elsewhere. It suggests a genuine commitment to a whole systems approach which goes beyond the confines of the formal criminal justice system and encompasses approaches within the entirety of health and social care.

The aim of this paper is to provide the reader with the current status of alternatives to imprisonment in Scotland, in both the pre-trial and post-trial phases. The presentation of the current and promising practices described are based upon Scottish Government policy grounded in the implementation of the key principles (Table 1) and the evidence-based as detailed in Table 2.

2. The pre-trial phase.

2.1. Early intervention - Persistent Offender Project (17), UK: Scotland.

The Police Service of Scotland together with Addiction Services developed. The aim being to ‘establish joint partnership working to improve health and social well-being for offenders with drug and alcohol problems and their communities.’ The content of the service ensures support for drug and alcohol rehabilitation, assistance with housing and tenancy difficulties as well as training and education as required. The content of the early intervention includes:

1. The participants were identified by police from lists of potential candidates. These included: those over 16 year of age; persistent offenders; crime used to fund addiction and that they resided in areas of high social deprivation.
2. The participant was contacted at home and informed of the aims of the programme. Assessments of motivation and engagement were made. A further follow-up appointment was made to engage proactively with the potential participant, 7 days after the initial contact.
3. The programme consisted of an agreed care plan with specific roles for the trained addiction and homeless teams. It provided a multi-agency focus approach involving all necessary practitioners.
4. The care plan was flexible and tailored to the needs of the participant. The care plan was monitored and reviewed on a 6 weekly basis to include assessments of risk and engagement.
5. The continuing evaluation of the programme shows an overall fall in convictions, reported crime and the time spent in prison.

2.2. Diversion - Community Triage, NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde Crisis Out of Hours CPN Service (18), UK: Scotland.

The Police Service of Scotland together with National Health Services (NHS) Greater Glasgow and Clyde developed a Community Triage (CT) as an early intervention (diversion) to prioritize people presenting with mental health. The CT aimed to show that ‘more timely intervention by Mental Health professionals [community psychiatric nurses: CPNs] when required’, would reduce the necessity for confinement either in a police station or hospital.

The Police and NHS Service provide accessible and appropriate interventions to: ‘reducing the number of detentions to custody; improve outcomes for those who are detained and also those who are dealt with in the community; improve partnership working between Police and Health Services, improve pathways to effective Mental Health Services including follow up for those difficult to engage with, following initial contact with the police and reduce costs to police, health and criminal justice system’¹³.

The CT is targeted to people ‘where there was no immediate danger or threat to life’. The out of hours service operated between 2000-0900 hours on week-end and public holidays. Police officers who feel that the person is distressed and/or showing signs of mental ill-health are required to complete a series of 6 questions about the event:

1. Where was the person found?
2. Was a telephone consultation conducted?
3. Was there a face-to-face mental health assessment conducted?
4. What was the outcome?
 - [i] fit and well, no further action:
 - [ii] detained and taken to a place of safety:
 - [iii] a mental health officer called to organise to take the person to a place of safety.
5. Was the person arrested for an offence?

6. How long did it take?

The evaluation of the Community Triage showed that of the 234 episodes attended all individuals had been assessed. Two hundred and thirty people were fit and well and needed no further intervention. CPNs assessed seven other cases. Of the remaining six people, four were taken into police custody with the remaining 2 ‘were dealt with at the locus of their offence and reported to the Procurator Fiscal’. This represented only 2.6% of the total.

3. Post-trial phase.

3.1. Community Payback Orders (CPO)⁽¹⁹⁻²⁰⁾ (24)

Following the Criminal Justice and Licencing (Scotland) Act 2010 (19), the Scottish Parliament introduced a number of alternatives to short prison sentences of 3 months or less, for those convicted with minor offences. These alternatives were called, ‘community pay-back orders’. By 2011 CPOs were introduced and implemented across Scotland and replaced previous legislation on community orders (20). The CPO kept many of the aspects of existing orders such as the community service order (e.g. unpaid work), probation order (e.g. supervision, substance misuse treatment programmes etc.) while including new features such as ‘other activities’⁽¹⁰⁾. The aim of the CPO is to:

- ‘Achieve a positive impact on individuals;
- Require individuals to make payback to the community;
- Replace an unnecessarily complex range of community sentences and increase public understanding;

- Ensure the level of intervention matches the level of assessed risk;
- Create a robust and consistently delivered community sentence, which enjoys public confidence and credibility’⁽²¹⁾.

The decision to provide a CPO rather than a custodial sentence is based upon reports on the offender and his circumstances made to the Court from criminal justice social work. The CPO is tailored and devised to guarantee that people convicted with an offence will ‘pay-back’ to their society and communities. The individual during this time was required to:

- [i] do unpaid work for the community;
- [ii] participate in programme(s) to enable the modification of offending behaviours, to allow reintegration into society and ensure that the social environment will be safe and sustainable.

The requirements for each of the CPO activities are shown in Table 3. During the period of the CPO, ‘periodic review hearings’ to assess progress are conducted by the Court. During these ‘progress reviews’ the responsible officer provides written reports and the individual must attend.

Evaluation reports from local authorities (22), (23) suggest that CPOs fulfill the aims of the original programme with increased unpaid work and improved confidence in those on CPOs noted since its inception. In addition earlier reports^(21-23s) suggested that CPOs may have had an effect on reducing reoffending.

Requirements for community pay-back order	
Unpaid work or other activity requirement	Level 1: common elements The offender must provide up to 100 hours of unpaid work which must be completed within 3 months. The person cannot be under 16 years of age and in the case where the individual is 17 or 18 years old a local authority report is required.

	<p>Level 1: fine defaulter. Consent is not required and the offender has the opportunity to pay the fine or undertake unpaid community work of up to and including 50 hours.</p> <p>Level 2: common elements Consent is required by the individual. The offender must undertake up to 300 hours of unpaid community work or other activity (e.g. education) of not more than 30% hours in total. The work must be completed within 6 months.</p>
Offender supervision requirement	The responsible officer will provide supervision if the person is under 18 years of age; when the Court requires other activities in addition to unpaid work. The responsible officer will work together with the individual to ensure adherence with the CPO and encourage behaviour change.
Compensation requirement	The offender is required to pay compensation for 'any personal injury, loss, damage or other matter incurred as a result of the individual's offending behaviour'. It is paid either by a lump sum or by instalments and to the court ²⁴ .
Programme requirement	The recommendation for a programme is made from a Criminal Justice Social Work Report, as appropriate. The programme will run concurrently with a supervision requirement.
Mental health treatment requirement	This requirement is imposed when an individual has been diagnosed with a mental health condition and/or learning disability, which has been provided by an approved doctor. This requirement ensures that people are provided with appropriate care, treatment and support.
Drug treatment requirement	Drug treatment programmes are put in place when the individual is diagnosed with a dependency or addiction. In this requirement the 'drug issues are not the sole or main issue driving the offending behaviour.' ²⁴ Supervision is always required during the period of the treatment and CPO. Treatment may be residential or otherwise and will be multidisciplinary in nature to ensure treatment success and reintegration with family and their community.
Alcohol treatment requirement	As with drug measures the individual must be dependent or addicted to alcohol. 'Non compliance should be addressed immediately, rigorously and effectively. An offender supervision requirement will always be imposed in addition to an alcohol treatment requirement.' ²⁴
Residence requirement	In the majority of cases individuals will reside in public or private accommodation with no intervention from the responsible officer. In other cases the individuals will be provided with assistance from the responsible officer to enable them to reintegrate and reduce the risk of reoffending. For those offenders who could cause harm will reside in specific accommodation and will be supported by their responsible officer to assist them to overcome offending behaviours and to reintegrate into society.

Conduct requirement	This is to ensure that the offender's behaviour is non-contentious. The individual may not be allowed to go to specific communities, streets or visit relatives. During this time they are supported by Criminal Justice Social Work.
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Table 3: *Community payback order requirements (24)*

3.2. Specific programme for specific crimes - the Caledonian System for Domestic Violence⁽²⁵⁾

'The Caledonian System was developed for the Scottish Accreditation Panel for Offender Programmes & the Equality Unit of the Scottish Government' (25). It is for adult males over 16 years old who are in a heterosexual relationship and who have been convicted of domestic abuse. The Scottish Government funds criminal justice services, which implements CS in various local authority areas.

The CS is an integrated systemic approach that addresses domestic abuse behaviour in men and which also safeguards women and children through parallel services. The expected results are a reduction in domestic abuse and improvement of lives of the men, their partners, children and families. Family or partner involvement is dependent and tailored to individual cases.

The aims of the programme are to:

1. increase safety of women and children via addressing abusive behaviour in men.
2. reduce offending.
3. manage risk.
4. promote change in men by providing safe and respectful learning context.
5. assist men in changing their attitudes responsible for violence.
6. increase men's accountability for their abuse.
7. develop a 'good life' plan which does not rely on abusing partners and children.

8. increase men's knowledge, skills and understanding necessary not abuse partners.

9. promote better lives for women and children who are affected by domestic abuse.

Stage 1: Pre-group activities: 14 sessions. The offender starts with the pre-group activities, which are carried out with their case manager, who is responsible for the implementation and enforcement of the order. In this stage, preliminary work necessary for moving onto Stage 2 is carried out. During this stage an analysis of his abusive behaviour is completed, his criminogenic needs are identified and a personal plan is formulated.

Stage 2: Group work programme: 26 sessions: Group work consists of 6 modules. Each module has 4-5 sessions (each 3 hours long) delivered over a 3-5 week period in a group format. Offenders can join in for the first available module and do not need to wait until the next start of the programme. The exception to that is 'sexual respect' module, which is run on 2-to-1 basis and men normally do not start with this module as it can make offenders anxious and resistant to change.

Stage 3: Maintenance sessions: Once the offender has completed the Caledonian System modules he enters into the maintenance phase. The maintenance phase continues until the end of the court order and involves work with the offender's case manager. It is during this time that any outstanding issues identified during the group work can be further addressed. In addition, offenders are monitoring and reviewing their progress according

to the risks and needs identified in the early stages of the Caledonian System programme and in accordance with their personal plan. During maintenance offenders are encouraged to translate the learning and skills obtained in the group to their relationships and to life in general.

4. Conclusions.

The Scottish Government has embraced an optimistic policy and strategic vision from lessons learnt from the past. Their policy shows their clear determination [i] to stop short-term sentencing and [ii] to reduce reoffending rates. This will be achieved not only by a range of alternative sentencing options but also by tackling the root causes ('the causes of the causes') of crime; introducing new sentencing guidelines; and addressing the issues associated with the consequences of non-compliance and non-adherence. Equally of importance is promoting a culture whereby community-based alternatives are viewed as a more acceptable sanction than short-term custody.

A note of caution, however, must be sounded, since difficulties have historically existed in the trajectory from policy through to practice, with strategic aims apparently lost in the day-to-day working of all those involved in criminal justice and therefore custody rates continuing to increase. It is necessary to support proposed and current changes in sentencing practice through multi-disciplinary joint training and continuing professional development. Doing so will ensure that all professionals working both within criminal justice and within health and social care are involved and empowered to address the root causes of crime and to promote community-based alternatives rather than endorsing short-term custody.

Notes.

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